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DIRECTIVE

COURSE: *World Communism*  
*Communist Party Operations*

SUBJECT: Leadership (Promotion and Leadership of Cadres) HOURS: 50 min

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METHOD OF PRESENTATION: Lecture INSTRUCTOR: [REDACTED]

OBJECTIVES OF INSTRUCTION: To show how the Bolsheviks obtain and keep their leadership in the Party through promotion and leadership of cadres.

SUMMARY OF PRESENTATION: The purpose of this lesson is to provide adequate background and understanding of the World Communist Movement, and to equip staff personnel to plan and to conduct effective operations against it with emphasis on the essentials, the generally valid aspects of party policy, tactics, administration, organization, and action.

The approach is of two types: (1) Comparative analysis of national parties; and (2) Examination of world, i.e., international aspects of party activity, such as the work in international mass organizations (fronts), etc.

Special emphasis will be paid to dynamics - the methods of party action which will be demonstrated by examples. Operational discussions will be kept within the limits of our experience. It will be said, "It has been done this way," and not, "This is the way it should be done."

SUBJECTS WITH WHICH COORDINATION IS REQUIRED:

REFERENCES:

OTR VAULT COPY NO. 856

REMARKS: Conclusions presented are tentative and exploratory, therefore, in no way authoritative, nor expert opinions based upon adequate data.

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OUTLINE ON LEADERSHIP

	Page No.
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. TYPES OF LEADERSHIP	4
III. METHODS OF LEADERSHIP	5
IV. OLD LEADERSHIP (CADRES) VS. YOUNG CADRES	6
V. MOTIVATION AND MORALE FACTORS	8
VI. CRITERIA OF LEADERSHIP	9
VII. TASKS OF LEADERSHIP	11
VIII. PROBLEMS OF LEADERSHIP	15
IX. WEAKNESSES OF LEADERSHIP	17



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LEADERSHIP:

I. Introduction:

- A. "The art of Bolshevik leadership requires a knowledge of theory, i.e., the laws of development...of the proletarian revolution and the ability of utilizing these laws in the practical work of directing socialist reconstruction"

It is the ability:

1. to convince the masses that the Party policy (Party Line) is RIGHT;
2. to issue and act upon slogans (Tactical Line) that will bring the masses nearer the Party standpoint (Party Line)
3. of a REAL LEADER by skillful use of propaganda and agitation, to lead the groups, INSTEAD of FOLLOWING the groups by means of TRIAL and ERROR (Khvostism-tailism)
4. It is the capability of influencing large gatherings of people.

NOTE:

"In our Party, if we have in mind its leading strata, there are about 3,000 to 4,000 first rank leaders whom I could call our Party's corps of generals:...Then there are 30,000 to 40,000 middle rank leaders who are our party's corps of officers;...Then there are about 100,000 to 150,000 of the lower rank Party command staff who are, so to speak, our Party's non-commissioned officers"

(Stalin - Mastering Communism, W.L. Publ. N.Y. April 1937)

B. The World Communist Movement, part and parcel of the World Proletariat, has only one interest: a better life for the "exploited, oppressed masses, the end of all exploitation"

1. "It leads and organizes the fight of the masses for better conditions because the interests of the workers are its interests";
2. "It knows that these day-to-day struggles develop the workers for the final task--the overthrow of capitalism;

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3. "It explains to the worker that there is only one Party they can trust, only one Party which fights uncompromisingly with them against the enemy, the Party which is their flesh and blood--their Party--the Communist Party";

In this way, the WCM will win the confidence of the masses, and become their "RECOGNIZED LEADER", their "GENERAL STAFF", their "vanguard", which they will follow in the final battle to victory.

4. "It systematically aids the "Revolutionary Liberation Movement" of the oppressed peoples";

5. "It mobilizes the masses for international solidarity with the struggle of the workers in other capitalist countries";

6. "It rallies the masses against IMPERIALIST WAR and fascism and for the DEFENSE of the USSR";

7. "It is helping the USSR in building socialism, the only fatherland of workers all over the world";

8. "It is defending the USSR, therefore, against the attacks of the capitalist powers."

C. The TARGET of the Communist leadership (CPSU) may be summarized briefly as an attempt to:

1. seize the leadership and control of the working class (world);

2. establish socialist (communist) world order under the leadership of the World Communist Movement headed by the CPSU;

by means of:

3. parliamentary (defensive) and/or insurrectionary (revolutionary) tactics (including open warfare) by the most advantageous

4. means available under the circumstances, and minimum material destruction;

with the final task of:

5. consolidation of socialism (communism) in one country (USSR) and
6. spreading "revolutionary movement" beyond the confines of the USSR (Satellites, etc.)
7. paralyzing and demoralizing of the opposition (by all means appropriate to the situation)
8. impregnation and isolation of its own and satellite territory (iron curtain fortifications)

by staging:

9. planning (theoretical and practical)
  - a. political (PA) (cold war, co-existence, peace movement, etc.)
  - b. psychological (PW) ( " )
  - c. economic (two markets, etc.)
  - d. military (PM)
10. mapping out insurrectionary transition through:
  - a. preparation (preconditioning)
  - b. action (armed insurrection, coup d'etat, etc.)
  - c. consolidation of power, in case of a successful action.



II. TYPES OF LEADERSHIP:

A. Native leadership, which had developed under stress of war and German occupation and consequent underground activities. They have the psychology of self-made men, are pro-Soviet and usually have an unconscious nationalist complexion. Many of these leaders were born and brought up in frontier areas, where immediate contact with other nationalities has strengthened their national awareness. (Rajk-Transylvania, Clementis-Slovakia, Markos-Turkish Anatolia, Golulka-Krosno in the Carpathian mountains) (DOMESTIC leadership)

B. "Muscovite" leadership; these men spent years abroad, for the most part in Moscow; many of them have acquired Soviet citizenship; some served in the Soviet Army. They have not participated in the National Underground Movement, except from afar; and even in pre-war days, they had made only occasional underground visits to their native lands. Usually, they possessed little local popularity. Sometimes they were completely unknown to the local Communists. Many of them belonged to minorities which fared badly at the hands of the national groups of which the Muscovites now claimed to their leaders. (Hungary-Matyas Rakosi, Rumania-Ana Pauker, CSR-K. Gottwald, etc.) (ETHNIC Leadership)

C. Collective: (presidium, directorship, board, etc.)

D. Individual: (Stalin)

1. Intellectual leadership
2. Mass-appeal leadership
3. Organizational or bureaucratic leadership

### III. METHODS OF LEADERSHIP

The method of persuasion is the best method of Party Leadership;

It means:

- A. The ELUCIDATION of Party Policy to the rank and file and the working people in general;
- B. The CONVINCING of its correctness and mobilization for the struggle to achieve Communism (by combining "Ideas and Circumstances" or the ability to convince the people that there is no other channel for their contribution to the national welfare than the Communist ideology.)
- C. Exemplary conduct of Communists who are to be judged by action rather than by words (China) (industriousness and efficiency) (model of ideal Communist behavior)
- D. Impersonal loyalty risking lives in a common cause
- E. Fanatical and desperate hatred of the opposition (capitalism, imperialism)
- F. Realistic Statesmanship, the ability to understand the salient facts of a given political situation and to act upon them without allowing one's perception of these facts to be blocked by doctrinaire blinders (stressing certain elements of doctrine, underplaying others, or deliberately concealing new facts behind the facade of new facts)
- G. "Feeling for humanity", exploitation of conflicts between individual human beings and the advantages of "collective" humanity;
- H. "Complete equality", friendship toward all persons, regardless of personal sympathy or antipathy toward them (comradeship)
- I. "Courage", prepared to sacrifice even life, provided stakes warrant such sacrifice, etc.

IV. OLD LEADERSHIP (CADRES) VS. YOUNG CADRES:

A. Old Cadres:

1. Advantages:

- a. represent a valuable asset to the Party;
- b. possess tremendous experience in Party leadership;
- c. are schooled in Marxist-Leninist principles;
- d. possess knowledge of affairs;
- e. have capacity for orientation

2. Disadvantages:

- a. there are not enough of them;
- b. partly going out of commission owing to the operation of the laws of nature;
- c. are sometimes inclined to keep a too persistent eye on the past, to cling to the past, to stay in the old rut and fail to observe the new life (Losing the sense of the New)

B. Young Cadres:

1. Advantages:

- a. constitute the vast majority;
- b. are young and as yet are not subject to the danger of going out of commission;
- c. possess an abundance of the sense of the New
- d. develop and acquire knowledge so rapidly, they press upward so eagerly, that the time is not far off when they will overtake the old fellows.
- e. discipline: (fear is a stronger motive than love, respect or esteem)

(1) imposed rather than self-discipline (from above)

(2) lack of tradition of responsible citizenship and self-restraint in civic matters

f. social conditions:

(1) young people who have grown up in the atmosphere of war, social collapse, periodic famine and conflicting forms of dictatorship

(2) accustomed to hunger, pain and adversity;

(3) little sense of individual security, callous to suffering in others as well as in themselves

(4) physically hardy, toughened by rigorous army training

2. Disadvantages:

a. no experience

b. no schooling (or insufficient) of the old cadres

c. no knowledge of affairs

d. no capacity of orientation

V. Motivation and Morale Factors:

A. Building classless society does not merely mean Liquidation of Classes, it also means overcoming the Survivals of Capitalism, in economics and in the MINDS of MEN. A COMMUNIST CANNOT FIGHT among the masses to overcome these survivals unless he...in his conduct toward all those who surround him, SHOWS THAT HE HIMSELF HAS OVERCOME THESE SURVIVALS, or is overcoming them. Hence, the unyielding STERMNESS OF OUR PARTY TOWARD ALL ITS MEMBERS in regard to their moral and political character;

(Manuilsky--"Results of Socialist Construction" - 7th Congress of Comintern, Moscow 1937)

B. "It must not be forgotten that to enter the SACRED DOOR of the PARTY one must be spotless not only in his public life but in his personal as well"

(Pravda--"Regarding the question of personal life"--July 1947)

C. "Party opinion makes especially high demands on the moral make-up of a Party member who is supposed to set an EXAMPLE for other Soviet citizens by his PERSONAL CONDUCT"

(Bolshevik--"Soviet law in education of Communist consciousness"--#4-1947)

D. ..."Party opinion makes especially high demands on the moral make-up of a Party member who is supposed to set an example for other citizens by his personal conduct" (Bolshevik-Karevs #4 1947)

E. ..."a real Bolshevik is never insincere before his Party, before the working class, before the working masses. Duplicity, hypocrisy, deceit--all these are poisonous weapons from the arsenal of our enemies."

F. ..."it must not be forgotten that to enter the sacred door of the Party one must be spotless, not only in his public life, but in his personal as well." (Ibid.)

VI. CRITERIA of Leadership:

A. LEADERSHIP, first of all, is deep loyalty to the work of the Communists and carrying out of the Party's Leninist-Stalinist policies through complete understanding of the Communist cause, which consists of:

1. realization of the Party's decisions and directions with all one's life, work and conduct, and with every step of one's practical activity;
2. execution of work entrusted to a member, so that those around the member always see in him a faithful and honest executor of the will of the Party and the government, a person who devotes all his life to the common good;
3. subordination of individual interests unconditionally to the interests of the Party (but not the Party interests to serve the individual)
4. possession of strength of character to make decisions at the proper time and announce them at time and place which will attain proper results. (This means:
  - a. judgment
  - b. reasoning
  - c. foresight
  - d. capacity of doing first things first)
5. having the wisdom to plan and order, once the decision is reached and developing detailed plans to implement same;
6. possessing great courage to act despite all costs, hardships and hazards;
7. ability to accept full responsibility and develop sense of same among other members;
8. ability to develop the "Party and Class Spirit";
9. ability to get along with people and have tact;
10. ability of grasping and explaining to the masses the appeals of the Party;
11. strength to fight against all those who violate the decisions of the Party and interfere with their fulfillment;
12. educating oneself and those around, and excelling in study of the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory.

13. not to be satisfied with the progress one has achieved and not to rest on one's laurels;

14. have self-respect and self-esteem, fight against conceit, complacency, and self-satisfaction;

15. to be a politically developed person;

16. to fight against servility before the bourgeois West, etc.

VII. TASKS of Leadership:

A. Political Leadership

Party of proletarians as fighting group of leaders in the first place must be NUMERICALLY MUCH SMALLER than the class of proletarians; in the second place, it must stand higher than the class of proletarians in its consciousness and experience; in the third place, it must represent a tightly-knit organization.

(Stalin-Proletarian Class and the Party of Proletariat-Jan 1905-1946)

The PARTY is not merely an organized detachment but the highest of all forms of organization of the working class and it is ITS MISSION TO GUIDE ALL OTHER ORGANIZATIONS of the WORKING CLASS. The Party is the embodiment of the connection of the vanguard of the working class with the working class millions.

(Short History of the VKP (b) 1945)

The Party is the Highest form of class organization of the proletariat. This does not mean, of course, that NON-PARTY organizations, trade unions, cooperative societies, etc., SHOULD BE OFFICIALLY SUBORDINATED to the PARTY LEADERSHIP. IT ONLY MEANS that the members of the PARTY who belong to these organizations and are doubtlessly influential in them should do all they can to persuade these non-PARTY organizations to draw nearer to the PARTY of the proletariat in their work and to accept VOLUNTARILY its political guidance. That is why Lenin says that the Party is "the highest form of proletarian class organization" whose political leadership MUST EXTEND TO EVERY FORM of ORGANIZATION of the Proletariat.

(Lenin, Selected Works Left Wing Communism;  
Stalin, Problems of Leninism-1924)

The highest expression of the leading role of the PARTY here in the Soviet Union, in the land of DICTATORSHIP of the PROLETARIAT, for example, is the fact that not A SINGLE IMPORTANT POLITICAL OR ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTION is decided by any soviet or OTHER MASS ORGANIZATION without guiding directions from the PARTY ~~is~~ In this sense it could be said that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is in essence the DICTATORSHIP of its VANGUARD, the DICTATORSHIP of its PARTY, as the MAIN GUIDING FORCE of the PROLETARIAT.

(Stalin, Problems of Leninism-1940)

The Party is the rallying point of the finest elements of the working class who have direct connections with the non-Party PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATIONS of the proletariat...IT IS THE BEST TRAINING SCHOOL FOR LEADERS of the WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS into ACCESSORY ORGANS and CONNECTING BELTS linking up the Party with the WORKING CLASS



The Party is the highest form of class organization of the Proletariat.

(Stalin-Foundations of Leninism, 1940)

B. Ideological leadership:

means:

1. to raise the theoretical level of the Party to the proper plane;
2. to intensify ideological work in all the links of the Party;
3. to carry on unceasing propaganda of Leninism-Stalinism in the ranks of the Party;
4. to train the Party organizations and the non-Party actives which surround them in spirit of Leninist Internationalism;
5. not to gloss over, but loudly to criticize the deviations of certain comrades from Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism;
6. systematically to expose the ideology and remnants of the ideology of trends that are hostile to Leninism-Stalinism.  
(Stalin-XVII Congress)
7. to fight "the enemy within" accomplished through self-criticism and criticism;
8. to dismiss all "inhibitions" which normally block the will to surrender independence of thought and right to inviolable privacy;
9. able to accept unquestioningly CPSU's supremacy as the fountainhead of all true Party doctrine, the attributes of infallibility bestowed on him, and the intellectual debasement this entails on the part of the Communists.
10. to overcome the "last remnants" of protest against the palpable untruths and inconsistencies to which the Marxist philosophy has to resort in order to keep in pace with the domestic and foreign policies of the USSR.
11. to accept unquestioningly the fact that the Short History of the CPSU(6) and in particular the methods resorted to by the founders of Bolshevism in overcoming the many obstacles astride the road leading to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, can be applied with equal force today. (Mein Kampf-equal to Short History of CPSU(6) as far as furthering world domination (by Communism) is concerned.
12. to study two basically contradictory sides of a problem; and understand the nature of contradiction and solve the problem properly;

13. to write presentable articles based on basic research and analysis ("writing a thousand words, but away from the subject by a thousand miles"--China)

14. to study the audience (propagandists, especially) both oral and written--be able to figure out who will hear or read his writing, speech, conversation, etc., and think that what he writes and says is quite understandable (esp. in China) "look over the dishes before you eat, take measurements before you cut, play the lute to the cow" (Chinese)

15. to "eradicate" all traces of subjectivism, sectarianism, old dogmatism and party formalism used by the petit bourgeois to exploit the masses;

16. to be concise in writing and avoid lengthy meaningless papers (lengthy empty phrases--words without substance)

17. to avoid "making a false show of authority to instill terror"

18. to avoid "insipid language" (poor in expression) academic

19. to study languages of the people (dialects) and foreign languages; etc.

C. Organizational Leadership:

which concerns itself with the ability:

1. to organize self-criticism and exposure of the defects in Party work;

2. to mobilize the masses of the workers and peasants to fight for the application of the slogans and decisions of the Party and of the government;

3. to mobilize the Party, state, economic trade union and Communist League of Youth organizations for the struggle against difficulties;

4. to extend the emulation and shock work among the working people;

5. to organize a wide network of Political Departments of Machine and Tractor Stations and State Farms and the bringing of the Party and Soviet leadership closer to the villages;

6. to organize the division of Peoples' Commissariats (Ministries), head offices, and trusts, and the establishment of closer contact between the business leadership and the enterprise;

7. to eliminate lack of personal responsibility in work
8. to eliminate wage equalization
9. to abolish the "functional system", the extension of individual responsibility, and the policy directed toward doing away with collegium management (one-man management)
10. to exercise greater control over the fulfillment of decisions;
11. to expose and expel from the administrative apparatus incorrigible bureaucrats and red-tapists;
12. to remove from their posts people who violate the decisions of the Party, of window-dressers and windbags, and the promotion in their place of new people--businesslike people, capable of concretely directing the work entrusted to them and of tightening Party discipline;
13. to purge the Party of unreliable and demoralized persons;
14. to continue to adapt organization work to the requirements; of the Party line;
15. to raise organizational leadership to the level of political leadership;
16. to see that organizational leadership is fully equal to the task of ensuring the realization of the political slogans and decisions of the Party;
17. not to be carried away by the successes achieved, and must not get swelled heads;
18. to remain true to the end to the great banner of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of the fraternal alliance of the proletarians of all countries.

VIII. Problems of Leadership:

A. The problem of unorthodox thought, the problem of replacing ideologically trained personnel through various causes (wartime casualties); influx of new members created tensions between old and the new comrades and made for an increase in careerism and unorthodoxy; especially among young new recruits who interpreted the spectacular shifts of the United Front tactics to mean that the concepts of Western liberalism could be incorporated into the Party line.

B. The problem of intra-Party morale...everyone should think hard and penetratingly about his own work and thought of life, exchange views with others, map out plans to check departmental work, proceed to do so according to plan, and then draw conclusions as to how the work could be improved;

C. The problem of combining principles derived from practical experience of one successful revolution (China) with Marxism-Leninism as the guiding principles of all Party work; (Stalin vs. Mao Tse-tung)

D. The problem of emotional commitments versus conflicts of power interest which, in order to avoid, are "automatically regulated by the market mechanism within the Communist world" (Tito vs. USSR), where power relations will be settled by some sort of pre-established harmony (Lenin, Mao Tse-tung leaning to one side)

E. Recognition of proper course of action (behavior) depends on the ability:

1. to recognize and differentiate the various phenomena, ideological concepts, diverging opinions and proposals within the Party, beneficial to the long range interests of the Party and the Revolutionary Struggle;

2. to promote and extoll all good models of conduct and correct spirit in the Party, support all correct proposals and opinions, and refuse influence by incorrect ideological concepts;

3. to struggle uncompromisingly with ideas and proposals which are erroneous in principle and with all evil phenomena in the Party;

4. not to let things get out of hand and permit these errors and evil phenomena to develop and harm the Party interests;

5. to combine an uncompromising definiteness in principle and lively forms and methods of struggle with a spirit of tolerance and persuasion;

6. to promote the necessary thought struggle in the Party on all questions of principles at all times, but not to struggle within the Party;

7. to consolidate the Party, strengthen the discipline and authority;

8. to levy organizational punishment on those elements within the Party which have proved incurable, in this manner to achieve health and consolidation for the Party;

9. to carry out self-criticism formally, earnestly and with true sense of responsibility (enhancement of Party authority, reinforcement of Party discipline and leadership)

10. to expose the various errors, defects, etc., and correct and eliminate them; (criticism from below)

11. to prevent irresponsible, irregular and cowardly criticism and expression of dissatisfaction concerning this or that individual;

IX. Weaknesses of Leadership:

"Theoreticians and LEADERS of parties, men who are acquainted with the history of nations and who have studied the history of revolutions from beginning to end, are sometimes afflicted with an unsavory disease. This disease is called FEAR of the MASSES, disbelief in the creative power of the masses. This sometimes gives rise in the leaders to an aristocratic attitude toward the masses, who although they not be versed in the history of revolutions are destined to destroy the old order and build the new. The aristocratic attitude is due to a fear that the elements may break loose, that the masses may destroy too much; it is due to the desire to play the part of a mentor who tries to teach the masses from books, but who is averse to learning from the masses"

(Stalin, "On Lenin", Jan 20, 1924; Sochineniya Vol VII, 1947)

It should be remember once and for all that the strength and weight of a PARTY, especially of the COMMUNIST PARTY, depends not so much on the number of its membership as on their QUALITY, the STAUNCHNESS and DEVOTION to the cause of the proletariat.

(Stalin, "On tasks of Communism in Georgia and the Transcaucasus, Tiflis, July 1920-Moscow Pravda July 1920)

A. Leadership which became DOMINEERING:

"One of the greatest handicaps of the Communist World Movement is the fact that it began among the Russian people; that this movement had Catherine the Great, and Ivan the Terrible around its neck."

"The "national" Communist studying in the USSR would see that the capital was moved out of Moscow; Geneva would be a very good place to have for a world capital for the USSR of the WORLD"

Tito found that there was a tendency on the part of the Russians not only to LEAD, but to ORDER, as if they ALONE KNEW the ANSWERS.

B. Thinking in terms of:

1. old Marxist theory (expansion by revolution) (Ideological conquest)

2. straight militarism (expansion by grabbing of power by various methods) (straight military conquest)

C. Mistaken ideological concepts (deviations, etc.)

1. Some people join the Party to attain great objectives and realization of Communism and the liberation of the proletariat and of mankind; (idealists)

2. Some join the Party for ulterior reasons and to attain other than above-mentioned objectives (opportunists); and still retain an ideology of comparatively strong individualism and selfishness; they

a. put individual interests first and Party's in a subordinate position

b. worry about personal gain and loss and calculate for their individual interests;

c. use public means to gain personal advantage relying on Party work to attain certain personal objectives;

d. use unprincipled disputes in the Party and the errors of clique struggle, sectarianism and particularism;

e. use action which willfully damages and shows disrespect for Party discipline;

f. see Party interests of their particular unit only, etc., fail to recognize work of another unit or the whole;

3. Believe in vainglory, individual heroism, exhibitionism (individual heroics vs. progressive attitude);

4. Use of methods meant against the enemy in dealing with comrades and with Intra-Party problems;

5. Cannot get rid of bureaucratism (petty-mindedness) (fault-finding with small details, lack of vision of Communism, and its over-all significance, interest in trivial things, rashness and wavering of those from the petty bourgeoisie, reflection of non-proletarian ideologies.)

D. Sources of erroneous ideological concepts:

1. contemporary society still filled with the influences of the exploiters, selfishness and self-interest, hidden scheming, bureaucratism (reflection of evils of the contemporary society into the CP)

2. struggles within and outside the Party based on: (Intra-Party struggle)

- a. complexity of elements in the Party
- b. ideological differences (divergencies of opinion) (non-proletarian ideological concepts)
- c. differences in viewpoint, habit, taste and feeling among members.

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E. Wrong Attitudes:

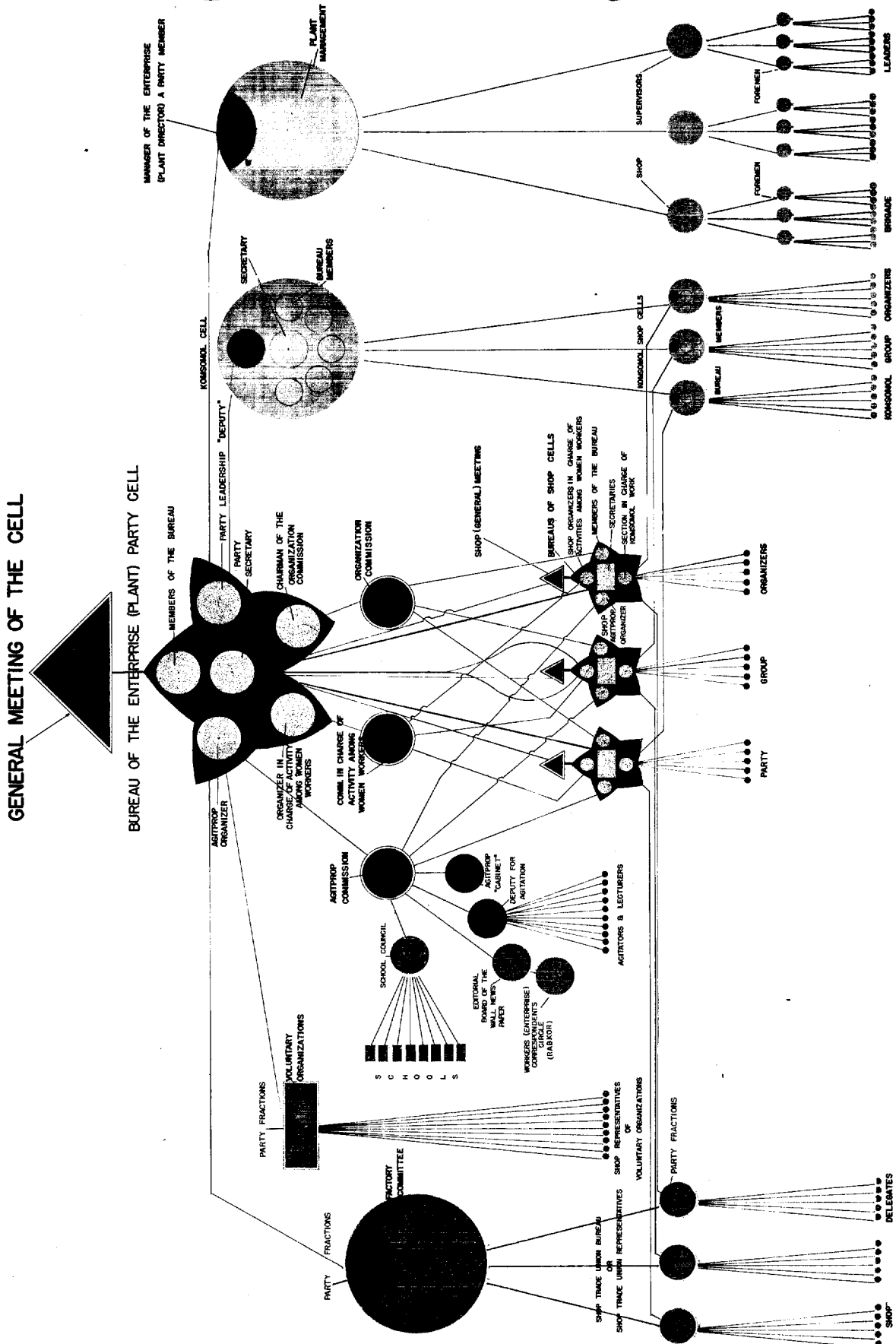
1. To be able to rejoice at the defects, errors and undesirable characteristics of the Party;
2. To tolerate, to accept and to learn certain erroneous thoughts and bad examples in order to satisfy personal schemes and desires;
3. To be unconcerned with the defects, errors and the various unhealthy phenomena in the Party and allow them to develop freely;
4. To develop deep hatred for those who exhibit these errors, defects and these incorrect concepts; etc.

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